THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. IV.—No. 22 SATURDAY, AUGUST 25th, 1917 Price One Penny

ADULT SUFFRAGE IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE

The Press reports of the Trafalgar Square demonstration, held on August 19th, to demand Adult Suffrage and the Abolition of the House of Lords are a reminder of the old adage: "Don't believe what the newspapers say." To illustrate this fact, we append the following extracts:—

"DAILY EXPRESS."

"MISTAKEN FOR A SPY."

AN ANGRY SCENE IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who was one of the speakers at a demonstration in connection with the National Suffrage Movement, held in Trafalgar-square yesterday afternoon, was shouted down.

An attempt was made to rush the "platform," and a scuffle ensued with the police. During this Miss Pankhurst made her escape to Charing Cross under the escort of two male sympathisers.

Here things looked threatening, as a portion of the onlookers, who had not been at the meeting, believed her to be a German spy under arrest.

The traffic was held up, and a constable dashed off to secure a taxicab. Into this Miss Pankhurst and her friends were hustled, and the cab drove away amid groans, boos, and cheers. Rolled-up newspapers were hurled into the vehicle.

"DAILY NEWS."

. . . . the point was emphasised that the demonstrators wanted every man and woman over 21 years of age to have the right to cast a vote, many of those who had come to break up the meeting remained to cheer. The presence of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst on the platform no doubt accounted for the opposition of a certain section of the crowd, but, on the whole, she was given a patient hearing as she pressed the claims of women, particularly the widows of soldiers, to a vote, and the resolution urging complete adult suffrage. Resolutions in favour of the abolition of plural voting, pauper disqualification, and the House of Lords were carried.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

. . . . The demonstration of the Workers' National Adult Suffrage movement and the Workers' Suffrage Federation, supported by branches of the National Union of Railwaymen, was wholly concerned with a resolution demanding adult suffrage, the removal of the pauper disqualification, and the abolition of the House of Lords. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was the most conspicuous speaker. At first none of the speakers could secure a hearing. Organised companies of straw-hatted civilians shouted the speakers down with the most violent abuse. There might have been trouble with the roughs had the police not been so watchful, but there was no indication that the crowd generally was hostile or, indeed, anything but bewildered. In the end all the speakers were heard, and the audience echoed the statement of one that the real troubles the workers had to face would come after the war, and that it was desirable they should have the help of women citizens in meeting them. Miss Pankhurst made a very brief speech much to the point, and the resolution—abolition of the House of Lords and all—appeared to be carried unanimously, most of the audience voting. After the meeting closed there was some disturbance in the street, and a rush made at Miss Pankhurst, but the police put her into a taxicab, and there was the customary procession of police, stray arrested disturbers, and spectators down to Scotland Yard.

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED.

The "Manchester Guardian," as our readers will notice, gives the credit for avoiding a disturbance to the police. But truth compels us to give chief praise to the able chairman on the main plinth, Mr. W. Carter, N.U.R., who dealt both firmly and tactfully with the interrupters, who formed a very small but a very noisy minority. Their leader was recognised as a man who sometimes gives trouble at W.S.F. and B.S.P. meetings in Victoria Park and elsewhere. Able speeches having been delivered by Mrs. Bouvier, W.S.F.; Mrs. Butler, Tottenham T.C.; Mr. Carter, N.U.R.; Alderman Davies, West Ham; Mrs. Drake, W.S.F.; Councillor Ben Gardner; Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, W.S.F.; Mrs. Montefiore, B.S.P., and others, the following resolution was carried by large majorities:—

"This meeting declares the present Government Franchise Bill to be unsatisfactory, and demands complete adult suffrage for all men and women, with the abolition of plural voting and the pauper disqualification, and the establishment of continuous registration. The meeting further protests against the setting up of a committee to formulate proposals to reform the House of Lords. It regards such schemes as expedients for giving an out-of-date and autocratic institution a new lease of life, and demands the abolition of the House of Lords."

The East and South London processions arrived before the meeting began. The very fine West London procession, organised by Mr. Holder, who is greatly to be congratulated on his effort, came whilst the meeting was in progress, appearing from behind the National Gallery, and coming down the hill into the Square with its big banners flashing gloriously.

The absurdity of the statements that there was any danger of the plinth being rushed was evidenced by the fact that the step ladder by which the stewards mounted was left unattended during the meeting, and that when the speakers came down only one or two comrades were standing near it to hold it firm, the audience having turned their backs to leave, and the little band of disturbers not having come round from the west plinth, to which they had hurried in order to cast a second vote against the resolution.

This little band which had been so noisy in the Square, caught sight of Miss Pankhurst just as she was crossing from the square to get the 'bus at the corner of St. Martin's Lane. They ran towards her, but she was surrounded by friends. As all the 'buses were crowded she took a taxi to the nearest Tube station in order to cut short the excitement. A youth who rode for a few yards on the step of the taxi was arrested by the police after he jumped off. He had been noisy in his interruptions in the Square but made no attempt to strike Miss Pankhurst, as she hastened to make clear as soon as she learnt of the accusation. Next day this youth was bound over to keep the peace at Bow Street. Owing to an objectionable and untruthful allegation made by a witness in the case, which was widely reported in the Press, and in order to correct other mis-statements, Miss Pankhurst sent the following statement to the Press Association:—

"I see it is stated in the Press that a witness, giving evidence at Bow Street on behalf of a young man who was arrested after the Trafalgar Square meeting on Sunday, stated that on the previous evening Miss Pankhurst had bitten him in the arm. I should be grateful if you would give me the hospitality of your columns in order that I may make an absolute denial of the statement. I may add that when I was speaking in Hyde Park the previous evening some men (as near as I could gather there were half a dozen) disturbed the meeting. The police then asked me to conclude my speech and dismount from the platform. I did so; and though the platform was afterwards overturned I was at the time surrounded by friends, and not in contact with the disturbing element. I may add that the Trafalgar Square meeting was not 'broken up,' as the resolution was carried by large majorities. On behalf of the young man who was arrested, I desire to say that the constable was mistaken in thinking that he attempted to strike me whilst he was on the step of the taxi. He made no attempt to strike me, though he had the opportunity."

This statement only appeared, so far as we know, in the "Morning Advertiser." In order to secure the publication of her denial in the papers which had published the lying slander, Miss Pankhurst therefore repeated it before the Magistrate at Bow Street on Tuesday morning.

Of Special Interest This Week!

"WILL LABOUR FUNK THE ISSUE?"

By E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

MORE "SCRAPS OF PAPER" or
Blessed are the Peace makers
Blessed are they which are persecuted for Righteousness' sake
Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself
No man can serve two masters
Love your enemies
Put up again thy sword into his place for all they that take the sword
By this sword
Blessed are the Peace makers for they shall be called the children of GOD
Ye have heard that it was said Thou shalt not kill
HERBERT COLE-1917-

SIMPLY TO THY CROSS I CLING!

"The Bishop of London a short time ago marched in procession to Hyde Park and preached a war sermon. He explained that it was *not* a *pacifist* meeting or he would not be there that the Conscientious Objector was the most mistaken of men &c. Evidently from these remarks he has seceded from the Service of the Prince of Peace."

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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WILL LABOUR FUNK THE ISSUE?

Anyone who sat through the Labour Party Conference on August 21st, must have felt—why even the Peace Pickets outside could tell it—that organised Labour desires peace, and is weary of war, that Labour is disillusioned as to the objects of the War, and now knows them to be capitalistic and aggressive on both sides, and that Labour realises that it is being grossly exploited by those who pretend to honour Labour by giving its representatives places in the Government. There are some men in the Labour movement who still shut their eyes to these things. One delegate, French, of the Typographical Association, was found to say: "There are men in the Government to-day who have the confidence of the country as a whole and whilst we regret that Henderson has left the Government we are proud of the position he held." But the majority of the delegates know the truth.

When E. C. Fairchild said: "The aims of the Governments of the Allies are as Imperialistic as the aims of the Governments of the Central Powers, and neither desire the people's Peace for which the world is longing," he was loudly cheered and no voice was raised in denial.

Though some of the newspapers give almost verbatim reports of the principal speeches their accounts of the Conference give an entirely false impression of the atmosphere in which those speeches were made. Not so much in the voting but in the spirit which goes before action, the Labour conferences are changed. At the Bristol Trade Union Congress in 1915, the Jingo speeches of Tillett and Clynes were met with that steady beating throb of applause which only comes from a majority giving enthusiastic undoubting welcome to the expression of its own demands. There were calls then for an extension of the time limit for Ben Tillett, but now, on August 21st, he contented himself with raising a point of order when the vote was about to be taken, and found himself howled down by cries of "Chair." Clynes, too, was silent, he passed nervously to and fro with clouded face.

Will Thorne and James Sexton were now left to be the principal spokesman of the War party, and as they spoke the Conference seemed to become a fountain of laughter: gravity fled from its composition: it turned everything into fun. Thorne quoted Snowden, taunting the delegates: "Snowden thinks he's got you on the run." He quoted Scheideman, "who evidently wishes to infer that this is a nation of Zulu Kaffirs," but the laughter grew more uproarious. He quoted again from Scheideman:

"We do not want a separate Peace; but if Russia wants Peace she can have it without annexations or indemnities."

Evidently he had chosen the wrong paragraph—quotations were a mistake. "I'm an International Socialist still," he protested vigorously, in spite of their flippant cries, "and I have yet to learn that because a man defends the rights and liberties which we enjoy at the present time——" —but his voice was drowned in laughter.

Equally unfortunate was Sexton, who spoke on behalf of an amendment to refer the Stockholm question to a referendum of the Trade Union members. He began by pointing out that the invitation to Stockholm came from the International Socialist Bureau, and, as though revealing a most important argument, triumphantly asserted that "throughout the War the machinery of the International Socialist Bureau has been in Berlin." All the platform seemed to be putting him right: he hurriedly corrected himself, "I confess I'm wrong." With that kindly courtesy which the Conference has always in reserve for such occasions the incident was allowed to slip past without comment. He stood there, a pathetic figure, grown old in the Labour movement, cruelly disfigured in early life by an accident at the docks, and outrageously neglected at the time by his employer. Now he was pleading the cause of capitalism. "I'm still a Socialist," he said; "Socialism is all right: it's some of the Socialists who are all wrong——"—again came the shouts of laughter. Restrained at the genuine mistake, it broke forth now: "He's done it again," they said. He tried to appeal to the prejudices of the non-Socialist Trade Unionists: "I thought we were a Labour Party; the Socialists are a minority; let them go as a minority; not draw the majority after their tail." Sexton, that was unworthy, but the thrust met with no response. One delegate wanted to raise a point of order; the others called: "Let him go on, we've got to stick it!"

Of all the War advocates, only Crinion, of the Cardroom Operatives, aroused anything of the old thrill, when he declared that his three boys at the Front "would not think well of their father if they knew that he was parleying with the Germans." And even that hush of attention speedily gave way to shouts of "Withdraw," when Crinion alleged that MacDonald could not get a hearing in the country because of his pacifist views.

HENDERSON *v.* BARNES.

Such speeches formed the setting for those of the two men who had become, for the moment, the central figures. The man on the crest of the wave and the man beaten and disgraced. These were the positions occupied by Henderson and Barnes at the Labour Conference. Deep-throated applause that comes with a full roaring sound greeted the words of Henderson, whilst Barnes could scarcely get a hearing, and the clapping of his friends struck thinly on the ear because they were so few.

Manders, of Birmingham, and Robert Smillie were cheered when they said that Barnes had played the part of blackleg, and that Henderson was on the victimisation list.

Barnes spoke in response to insistent cries for him. "Barnes, Barnes": some were menacing; a few, more friendly: "give Barnes a chance."

He rose slowly, looking pale and ill, like a man who cannot sleep. He began with hesitation, his speech broken by hostile comments.

"Some hard things were said this morning about those who are holding your end up in the Government."

(A delegate: "And the passports.")

"We who are in the Government are accused of throwing dust in the eyes of the movement and of disloyalty to you."

(Shouts of "Yes" and "Too true!")

"That is absolutely unwarranted."

("We don't believe it."

So Barnes struggled on. He had been proud, he said, of his Labour colleagues, who, though they felt they had been discourteously treated (a statement which, remembering his position as a Minister, he carefully qualified: "I am not saying whether they were or not"); but they had tried to avoid a breach with the Government, and to be loyal to each other, and to Mr. Henderson. Taking Henderson's place had been one of the most odious duties ever imposed on him. "Blacklegging always is." "Why didn't you refuse it?" "Is that why you kept him on the mat?" delegates shouted at him. He protested that he had done all that he could to be loyal to Henderson; he had even written to the Prime Minister imploring him, whatever the difficulties might be, to keep Henderson in his place if possible. The delegates heard him without sympathy; when a workman is dismissed by his employer, his comrades do not content themselves with pleas to the employer before the event; they declare the sympathetic strike. If Labour had refused to find a substitute for Arthur Henderson, in all probability the Government would have implored him to return.

WAS THE ISSUE "FUNKED"?

But Barnes had in reserve one true home-thrust for the Conference—a thrust which organised Labour has yet to meet: "Are we in the Government or are we not?" he asked, and pointed out that whilst Labour remains a party to the coalition, there is no logic in its representatives occupying merely subordinate places in the Government. An amendment by the B.S.P. to withdraw the Labour Party representatives from the Government, was moved by E. C. Fairchild, but withdrawn on Smillie's plea that the delegates could not vote for it without instructions. To approve Henderson's resignation, to confirm the decision to send delegates to Stockholm, and yet to allow a representative of the Party to remain in the Cabinet to support the policy which Henderson refused to support, is to take up a most illogical position. Therefore, Mr. Barnes accused the Conference of "funking" the issue. But whether the Labour Party really intends to "funk" this issue or not will be seen at the next Conference, which cannot be long delayed.

Mr. Barnes admitted that the question of severance with the Government will in the future become acute; he wishes to postpone that moment as long as possible because he believes that the severance will be bad for Labour and bad for the country, and because, as he quaintly said: "It will play into the hands of people who have no nationality and no country; not "into the hands of the Germans," you observe. Quite naturally there were cries of "Internationalism" at this statement. The religion of Internationalism is winning its way.

WILL BARNES REMAIN.

Barnes made it clear that when the severance between the Government and the Labour Party comes, he will break with the Labour Party, and will continue to place his services at the disposal of the Government. He spoke with confidence, but we believe that he will shortly find himself where Henderson stands to-day. It is difficult to understand Barnes. We cannot doubt that he is a weak man, his whole Parliamentary career has shown that; but we believe, in his own—to us, very inadequate—way, he still desires to serve what he believes to be the interests of the country. Barnes has made but an indifferent Pensions Minister; he has not had the courage to insist on thorough-going reforms, but we think he has felt pity, sometimes even grief, for the men and boys who are killed and maimed, and for the mothers, wives and widows who are left behind. At the Pensions Ministry Mr. Barnes probably heard little more than the public of the conduct and aims of the War, and no doubt thrust aside all that he did not wish to know, because he wanted to cling to his belief in what is described as the "National Cause." As a member of the War Cabinet it will be more difficult for Barnes to shut his eyes, and we think that when he knows all that is known to Henderson, and as he watches the development of the international capitalist struggle, he will find it impossible to remain in the Cabinet without an effective share of the power of decision, yet having to share the responsibility for this great tragedy, the crime of the twentieth century—the murder of youth in the struggle for trade.

But just now Mr. Barnes refuses to see the truths which are forcing their presence upon all of us. He urged the Conference not to be led away by talk of international capitalism and the class war. He declared that he does not believe in the class war, and that he believes this Government to be standing for better relations between all classes. A delegate mentioned "profiteers." "Ah! the phrasemonger!" Barnes answered. "That is the sort of thing that has been the curse of the movement. I appeal to you to cast yourselves free from these miserable phrases. The have no relevance to the tragic situation in which we find ourselves." The delegates laughed bitterly: such mistakes are easy to the man who ha left the workshop and become the Cabinet Minister. They are more difficult to the workman at the bench whose wife's face is drawn with the anxiety of buying food at War prices and whose children have eager appetites, and boots always needing repair!

WHAT DOES HENDERSON MEAN?

Henderson, for whom cheers were given as "the victimised Minister," had a pleasant part to play. Now that the fact that Kerensky still desires the Stockholm Conference has been proved beyond the possibility of doubt by Kerensky's own declarations, it was easy for Henderson to refute Lloyd George's charge that he had misled the Conference by not contradicting MacDonald when MacDonald asserted that Kerensky desired the Conference. A delegate, prejudiced against Stockholm, who had evidently omitted to study the news reported from Russia, and had failed to follow Henderson's own explanations, repeated the question: "Why didn't you read the telegram?" and thereby gave Henderson the opportunity to exclaim: "I would have given everything I possess to have read the telegram. Men don't do what I have done for selfish reasons." Roaring cheers almost drowned his words. He added: "If I had cared to follow the selfish game and accept the invitation to throw Labour over, my position in the eyes of the public would have been different to-day." But it is obvious that he has not lost, but tremendously gained in public esteem and confidence. Will he prove worthy of the trust? Henderson is a diplomatist, not a hero. He is a powerful force on whichever side he throws his influence.

At present his position is contradictory. He has left the Government: indeed, he has been thrown out of it; but he urges the Labour Party to remain attached to it.

He admits that the difficulty of remaining in the Government has been intensified by the refusal of the Government to grant passports to Stockholm to the official representatives of the Labour Party—a section of the Coalition. Passports were granted to British capitalists to an International Conference which met in the interests of Capital.

(Continued on Page 837.)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

FRENCH LABOUR GOES TO STOCKHOLM.

The French Confédération Générale du Travail —the organisation which roughly corresponds to the British Trade Union Congress—has decided to go to Stockholm. This, and the decision of the British Labour Party, will probably cause the American Labour Party to change its mind.

In choosing their delegates for the inter-Allied Socialist Conference the French Socialists have decided not to exclude the minority, as the British Labour Party Conference decided to in choosing delegates for Stockholm. The delegates selected by the French Socialist Committee for the Inter-Allied Conference on August 27th and 28th are :—

Majority: M. Albert Thomas, Minister of Munitions; M. Bracke, Deputy; M. Renaudel, Deputy; M. Edgar Milhaud, Professor at Geneva University.

Minority: MM. Jean Lon, Mistral, Pressemane, Verfeuil, and M. Loriot representing the Extreme Kienthal Pacifists.

We have the same division of Socialist and Labour opinion in this country.

* * * *

M. Tseretelli, a Socialist Member of the Russian Govern- in an interview with Arthur Ransome in the "Daily News" published August 20th, is reported as saying that the Russian Government has not changed its attitude towards the Stockholm Conference, adding: "I personally, as well as the whole Executive Committee, acclaim Mr. Henderson's action. We greet with the deepest satisfaction the decision of our comrades, the working men of England, to take part in that Conference."

CAPITALISTS CONFER.

Dear Editor,—We shall presently see more determined efforts by the capitalist leaders, and their press, to influence public opinion to prevent real representatives of the people from attending the Stockholm Conference. Our strongest weapon in counteracting this lies in the fact that Lord Newton and other Englishmen met German Government officials at the Hague, and in Lord Newton's report he says that "the discussions were full and frank," and a new agreement was arranged. Now, this admits the success of negotiation, and if it is possible for English capitalists to meet Germans of the same class, to discuss prisoners of War, surely it is more important that English workers should meet German workers to discuss and arrange an early proletarian peace. This point must be emphasised all over the country so that English workers are properly represented at Stockholm.—Yours faithfully, ALFRED WOOLFSTEIN.

WOMEN'S PEACE CRUSADE IN BELFAST.

Last week our activities took the form of a "from door to door leaflet distribution. We had numberless instances that the woman in the home has had enough of War. Here and there the sad story of news received that morning of the death of a loved one; here and there a wailing cry regarding the impossibility of bearing the economic strain of the cost of living any longer; here and there the shadow of some fine specimen of manhood maimed for life in the cruel butchery—the man bravely smiling, and his women folk with the sorrow and indignation of insulted wifehood and motherhood in their eyes and on their faces. And amidst it all we were conscious of the hundreds of little children amongst our feet—staring at us in their childish innocence. Dare we rest whilst these too may be the victims of War if a newer spirit of brotherhood and humanity is not born out of the present travail. Three open-air meetings were held. During the past fortnight three thousand leaflets have been distributed and dozens of papers sold. We are looking forward to a visit from Mrs. Anderson Fenn this week-end and anticipate good meetings.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS MEMORIAL.

The Peace Negotiations Memorial, "urging His Majesty's Government to seek the earliest opportunity of promoting negotiations with the object of securing a just and lasting peace," was signed by 221,617 persons and endorsed by organised Labour bodies representing more than 900,000 members.

THE NEGRO PROTEST.

The American nation has joined in this so-called War of Freedom; yet 500 negroes marched down Fifth Avenue, New York, on July 28th to protest against lynching, disfranchisement and injustice under which they suffer. First came little girls in white, and, walking amongst them, a boy with a sign : "Thou shalt not kill." Then women in white, preceded by a sign : "Colour, blood and suffering have made us one." Afterwards marched the men, and, at their head, an incription from the Declaration of American Independence : "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal." This was crossed out, and under it was a notice : "All of African descent, tear off this corner." Other signs were carried :—

"If fault is to be found with our colour blame God and yourselves."

"India is abolishing caste : America is adopting it."

"Taxation without representation is tyranny. (The Negro pays poll taxes down South, but is not allowed to vote.)"

"Repelled by the Unions, we are condemned as scabs."

"We are maligned as lazy and murdered when we work."

Race hatred, not merely of the peoples against which this or that nation is fighting in the War, but of all the peoples of other races, is being fanned by the reactionaries in all countries. The cry is either that the foreigner is fighting to rule us or is stealing our food or our work. In the bitter hatred the weaker peoples and the minorities are victimised; in one country it is the negro, in another the Jew or the Chinaman.

SWEATING THE CANTEEN STAFF.

Dear Editor,—Would you, through the medium of THE DREADNOUGHT, disclose the sweating conditions of the canteen staff at the London Small Arms, which I think are most unfair to the women in these abnormal times, and a very poor wage in normal times. The women work eleven hours per night for six nights, and the same on days. For this the cooks receive the splendid sum of 3s. per night or day. The washers-up receive 2s. 8d., no extra being paid for night work. I might say these women are not organised, having come straight from domestic service; professional cooks receive the same pay as the helpers. I might add that the *voluntary* helpers, who attend during the afternoon for one and a-half hours, receive 2s. They have interviewed the management, and the two agitators have been promised a rise of 2s. per week, which is 4d. per night for the six nights. I might say the canteen is supposed to be run without profit. These are all the facts I can give you at present.—Yours, etc.,

EQUAL PAY FOR MEN AND WOMEN.

The Board of Trade estimates that 1,256,000 women have taken the places of men in employment. What proportion of these women have received the same pay as men? The Board of Trade discreetly refrains from telling. Women should insist on being admitted to the men's unions and on being paid by the job, not according to sex.

THE WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY VOTE.

It appears that women who have taken examinations at Oxford and Cambridge, which refuse degrees to women, will not get the University vote which the present Government Bill offers to women of thirty years. We do not approve of the University vote, either for men or for women, so we are not much distressed by this knowledge. But we have often wondered why women go as students to Universities which insult them by refusing degrees to them, even though they may win a higher place in the examinations than any of the men.

ON THE RAILWAYS.

The railway men and women, boys and girls, are to receive the following War increases of wages, which are substituted for increases or bonuses already obtained :—Men : On time work, 15s. per week; on piece work, 8s. per week, 7s. per week on time rates, or 17½ per cent. increase of piece-work prices. Boys : 2s. per week to the War bonus now paid. Women : 2s. per week. Girls : 1s. a week. What about equal pay for men and women?

"THE DREADNOUGHT" AND W.S.F.

In reply to our Treasurer's appeal for financial aid, a correspondent from the Attercliffe Division of Sheffield writes :—"Here is four shillings from my husband and myself. Do not let the dear WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT go. I sell a few papers each week, but I will take more to sell from this week."—A Labourer's Wife.

WILL LABOUR FUNK THE ISSUE?

(Continued from Page 836.)

He admits that the policy of the Government is "a direct challenge to Labour." Yet he says that he would strenuously oppose the withdrawal of the remaining Labour Members from the Government, because to do so would be (1) subversive of the national interests; (2) prejudical to the successful prosecution of the War; (3) because "the Labour Party entered the Coalition with great ideals"; (4) because to leave the Government would "disrupt the Labour movement." He urged the Labour Party to be patient, to maintain its right as a great working-class organisation to be consulted in Peace and War, to pass again the resolution to participate in the Stockholm Conference, to take part in the Inter-Allied Conference, to ask again for passports, to play a waiting game.

Why is he working that British Labour should send delegates to the Stockholm Conference? He gave these as his reasons :—

"(1) The desire to assist the Allied cause by the supplementation of military effort by political propaganda, or an honest exchange of views between the countries;

"(2) To do all in my power to assist the Russian Government, and especially Kerensky, in their brave efforts to retrieve an appalling situation;

"(3) A desire to bring into closer union Russian and British democracy in this great and extreme crisis so that they can work together for the destruction of militarism everywhere and for the procuring of a lasting Peace;

"(4) Some such course as is contained in the Stockholm proposal will have to be followed. If the way of peace is not prepared by an exchange of views between the representatives of the great working-class democracies, then the Peace settlement will probably be reached by official, and, may I say, perhaps by secret official representatives. If this latter way is the way that Labour prefers, let it be clearly recognised that this would not mean, in our sense, a people's Peace."

The last sentence well sums up the issue. But the first reason and the last reason are conflicting. If the participation of British Labour in this Conference is intended "only to supplement military effort," as he says; if it is merely to wire-pull the German workers into accepting the "case" of the Allied Governments, then how can it be that only the working-class democracies of the world can prepare a people's Peace?

Which is merely diplomacy? Is it the first statement or the last? We hope devoutly that it is to the last and not the first of these statements that Mr. Henderson means to cling. His resignation tends to entitle him to the benefit of the doubt. But when he thinks of the delegates whom he means to meet and to influence at Stockholm, the delegates from the other countries whom he desires shall review the situation with impartial eyes : can he consider it wise to persist in repeating an announcement which is tantamount to saying : "I am going into this International Conference with the object of wire-pulling the delegates in the interests of my own country"?

With transports of joy and singing of the "Internationale," the Stockholm vote was carried. Though the majority was small, the decision was maintained, and for the moment that was all that mattered. Some delegates had voted with hesitation, for with all the pacifist enthusiasm which swept the Conference, many delegates awake from the old spell with difficulty. "Are you voting for Stockholm?" "Yes, I'm voting for it now, though I wish to God the referendum had been carried," an old man said. But those who had doubted were glad when they heard the figures; and one felt that the majority, even of the minority, were glad that the Stockholm proposal had won the day.

Then, ungenerously, the Conference decided to prevent, as far as in its power lay, the views of the minority sections of the British Labour movement being expressed at Stockholm. Yet, by the laborious propaganda of the minority, the majority has been brought to agree to send delegates to Stockholm. Many delegates thought the vote unimportant, as the I.L.P. and B.S.P. and Fabian Society are entitled to send delegates to Stockholm in their own right, having been separately invited by the International Socialist Bureau. But the possibility that the Government may eventually agree to issue passports to the Labour Party delegates and refuse them to the I.L.P. and B.S.P. delegates must not be overlooked. Will the Labour Party then reply : "An injury to one is an injury to all"? Or may it be that the majority and minority sections of the movement will by that time have united in the demand for a People's Peace?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

PRISON IMPRESSIONS*

Under the above title, Mrs. Cole has compiled a little book of her verse written in Northampton Prison. She says in her preface : "Whilst in prison, I petitioned for pencil and paper—my only request was refused. I had a slate, and was allowed to send out one letter a fortnight. That letter consisted of a folded sheet with four sides, one of which was occupied with printed instructions. All that is contained in this little book was written in prison and sent home in my fortnightly letter." "The View" gives, we think, a very characteristic picture of Mrs. Cole in its serenity and affectionate thoughtfulness for the "dear two at home," who "think mother in prison."

THE VIEW.

"Through my window embrasure, fast bricked and barred,
A visitor enters each day and tries hard
To brighten the hours. His gold wand he stretches,
And changes each brick with shimmering patches
Of gold dust. I kick off my shoes and mount my chair,
To peep at the country and drink of fresh air.
Two churches, a tower, laburnum's gold bloom,
Stretch of flat country I view from my room.
You dear two at home think mother in prison :
Her eyes travel miles when the red sun has risen;
Her ears catch the church bell, the school bell, and hour bell;
Her fancy can picture her loved ones well,
Nor distance, nor law, strict rules, nor brick wall
Can bar her from seeing her home and her all."

* Prison impressions by Clara Gilbert Cole with decorations by Herbert Cole. The Universal Publishing Company, Chorley, Lancashire, 1s.

A SOLDIER'S LETTER.

Dear Editor,—Many thanks for your welcome paper received quite safely this morning. I am pleased to say that it is admired by a lot of my comrades. I wish you every success with your demonstration next Sunday. How I should like to be there but never mind, I am sorry to say I have no education only just a Board School and a bad one at that. I left before I was 12 years of age, but I am pleased to say I have improved a little since, but I am able to understand the workers' only salvation.

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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WILL LABOUR FUNK THE ISSUE?

Anyone who sat through the Labour Party Conference on August 21st, must have felt—why even the Peace Pickets outside could tell it—that organised Labour desires peace, and is weary of war, that Labour is disillusioned as to the objects of the War, and now knows them to be capitalistic and aggressive on both sides, and that Labour realises that it is being grossly exploited by those who pretend to honour Labour by giving its representatives places in the Government. There are some men in the Labour movement who still shut their eyes to these things. One delegate, French, of the Typographical Association, was found to say: "There are men in the Government to-day who have the confidence of the country as a whole and whilst we regret that Henderson has left the Government we are proud of the position he held." But the majority of the delegates know the truth.

When E. C. Fairchild said: "The aims of the Governments of the Allies are as Imperialistic as the aims of the Governments of the Central Powers, and neither desire the people's Peace for which the world is longing," he was loudly cheered and no voice was raised in denial.

Though some of the newspapers give almost verbatim reports of the principal speeches their accounts of the Conference give an entirely false impression of the atmosphere in which those speeches were made. Not so much in the voting but in the spirit which goes before action, the Labour conferences are changed. At the Bristol Trade Union Congress in 1915, the Jingo speeches of Tillett and Clynes were met with that steady beating throb of applause which only comes from a majority giving enthusiastic undoubting welcome to the expression of its own demands. There were calls then for an extension of the time limit for Ben Tillett, but now, on August 21st, he contented himself with raising a point of order when the vote was about to be taken, and found himself howled down by cries of "Chair." Clynes, too, was silent, he passed nervously to and fro with clouded face.

Will Thorne and James Sexton were now left to be the principal spokesman of the War party, and as they spoke the Conference seemed to become a fountain of laughter: gravity fled from its composition: it turned everything into fun. Thorne quoted Snowden, taunting the delegates: "Snowden thinks he's got you on the run." He quoted Scheideman, "who evidently wishes to infer that this is a nation of Zulu Kaffirs," but the laughter grew more uproarious. He quoted again from Scheideman:

"We do not want a separate Peace; but if Russia wants Peace she can have it without annexations or indemnities."

Evidently he had chosen the wrong paragraph—quotations were a mistake. "I'm an International Socialist still," he protested vigorously, in spite of their flippant cries, "and I have yet to learn that because a man defends the rights and liberties which we enjoy at the present time——" —but his voice was drowned in laughter.

Equally unfortunate was Sexton, who spoke on behalf of an amendment to refer the Stockholm question to a referendum of the Trade Union members. He began by pointing out that the invitation to Stockholm came from the International Socialist Bureau, and, as though revealing a most important argument, triumphantly asserted that "throughout the War the machinery of the International Socialist Bureau has been in Berlin." All the platform seemed to be putting him right: he hurriedly corrected himself, "I confess I'm wrong." With that kindly courtesy which the Conference has always in reserve for such occasions the incident was allowed to slip past without comment. He stood there, a pathetic figure, grown old in the Labour movement, cruelly disfigured in early life by an accident at the docks, and outrageously neglected at the time by his employer. Now he was pleading the cause of capitalism. "I'm still a Socialist," he said; "Socialism is all right! it's some of the Socialists who are all wrong——"—again came the shouts of laughter. Restrained at the genuine mistake, it broke forth now: "He's done it again," they said. He tried to appeal to the prejudices of the non-Socialist Trade Unionists: "I thought we were a Labour Party; the Socialists are a minority; let them go as a minority; not draw the majority after their tail." Sexton, that was unworthy, but the thrust met with no response. One delegate wanted to raise a point of order; the others called: "Let him go on, we've got to stick it!"

Of all the War advocates, only Crinion, of the Cardroom Operatives, aroused anything of the old thrill, when he declared that his three boys at the Front "would not think well of their father if they knew that he was parleying with the Germans." And even that hush of attention speedily gave way to shouts of "Withdraw," when Crinion alleged that MacDonald could not get a hearing in the country because of his pacifist views.

HENDERSON *v.* BARNES.

Such speeches formed the setting for those of the two men who had become, for the moment, the central figures. The man on the crest of the wave and the man beaten and disgraced. These were the positions occupied by Henderson and Barnes at the Labour Conference. Deep-throated applause that comes with a full roaring sound greeted the words of Henderson, whilst Barnes could scarcely get a hearing, and the clapping of his friends struck thinly on the ear because they were so few.

Manders, of Birmingham, and Robert Smillie were cheered when they said that Barnes had played the part of blackleg, and that Henderson was on the victimisation list.

Barnes spoke in response to insistent cries for him. "Barnes, Barnes": some were menacing; a few, more friendly: "give Barnes a chance."

He rose slowly, looking pale and ill, like a man who cannot sleep. He began with hesitation, his speech broken by hostile comments.

"Some hard things were said this morning about those who are holding your end up in the Government."

(A delegate: "And the passports.")

"We who are in the Government are accused of throwing dust in the eyes of the movement and of disloyalty to you."

(Shouts of "Yes" and "Too true!")

"That is absolutely unwarranted."

("We don't believe it."

So Barnes struggled on. He had been proud, he said, of his Labour colleagues, who, though they felt they had been discourteously treated (a statement which, remembering his position as a Minister, he carefully qualified: "I am not saying whether they were or not"); but they had tried to avoid a breach with the Government, and to be loyal to each other, and to Mr. Henderson. Taking Henderson's place had been one of the most odious duties ever imposed on him. "Blacklegging always is." "Why didn't you refuse it?" "Is that why you kept him on the mat?" delegates shouted at him. He protested that he had done all that he could to be loyal to Henderson; he had even written to the Prime Minister imploring him, whatever the difficulties might be, to keep Henderson in his place if possible. The delegates heard him without sympathy; when a workman is dismissed by his employer, his comrades do not content themselves with pleas to the employer before the event; they declare the sympathetic strike. If Labour had refused to find a substitute for Arthur Henderson, in all probability the Government would have implored him to return.

WAS THE ISSUE "FUNKED"?

But Barnes had in reserve one true home-thrust for the Conference—a thrust which organised Labour has yet to meet: "Are we in the Government or are we not?" he asked, and pointed out that whilst Labour remains a party to the coalition, there is no logic in its representatives occupying merely subordinate places in the Government. An amendment by the B.S.P. to withdraw the Labour Party representatives from the Government, was moved by E. C. Fairchild, but withdrawn on Smillie's plea that the delegates could not vote for it without instructions. To approve Henderson's resignation, to confirm the decision to send delegates to Stockholm, and yet to allow a representative of the Party to remain in the Cabinet to support the policy which Henderson refused to support, is to take up a most illogical position. Therefore, Mr. Barnes accused the Conference of "funking" the issue. But whether the Labour Party really intends to "funk" this issue or not will be seen at the next Conference, which cannot be long delayed.

Mr. Barnes admitted that the question of severance with the Government will in the future become acute; he wishes to postpone that moment as long as possible because he believes that the severance will be bad for Labour and bad for the country, and because, as he quaintly said: "It will play into the hands of people who have no nationality and no country; not "into the hands of the Germans," you observe. Quite naturally there were cries of "Internationalism" at this statement. The religion of Internationalism is winning its way.

WILL BARNES REMAIN.

Barnes made it clear that when the severance between the Government and the Labour Party comes, he will break with the Labour Party, and will continue to place his services at the disposal of the Government. He spoke with confidence, but we believe that he will shortly find himself where Henderson stands to-day. It is difficult to understand Barnes. We cannot doubt that he is a weak man, his whole Parliamentary career has shown that; but we believe, in his own—to us, very inadequate—way, he still desires to serve what he believes to be the interests of the country. Barnes has made but an indifferent Pensions Minister; he has not had the courage to insist on thorough-going reforms, but we think he has felt pity, sometimes even grief, for the men and boys who are killed and maimed, and for the mothers, wives and widows who are left behind. At the Pensions Ministry Mr. Barnes probably heard little more than the public of the conduct and aims of the War, and no doubt thrust aside all that he did not wish to know, because he wanted to cling to his belief in what is described as the "National Cause." As a member of the War Cabinet it will be more difficult for Barnes to shut his eyes, and we think that when he knows all that is known to Henderson, and as he watches the development of the international capitalist struggle, he will find it impossible to remain in the Cabinet without an effective share of the power of decision, yet having to share the responsibility for this great tragedy, the crime of the twentieth century—the murder of youth in the struggle for trade.

But just now Mr. Barnes refuses to see the truths which are forcing their presence upon all of us. He urged the Conference not to be led away by talk of international capitalism and the class war. He declared that he does not believe in the class war, and that he believes this Government to be standing for better relations between all classes. A delegate mentioned "profiteers." "Ah! the phrasemonger!" Barnes answered. "That is the sort of thing that has been the curse of the movement. I appeal to you to cast yourselves free from these miserable phrases. The have no relevance to the tragic situation in which we find ourselves." The delegates laughed bitterly: such mistakes are easy to the man who ha left the workshop and become the Cabinet Minister. They are more difficult to the workman at the bench whose wife's face is drawn with the anxiety of buying food at War prices and whose children have eager appetites, and boots always needing repair!

WHAT DOES HENDERSON MEAN?

Henderson, for whom cheers were given as "the victimised Minister," had a pleasant part to play. Now that the fact that Kerensky still desires the Stockholm Conference has been proved beyond the possibility of doubt by Kerensky's own declarations, it was easy for Henderson to refute Lloyd George's charge that he had misled the Conference by not contradicting MacDonald when MacDonald asserted that Kerensky desired the Conference. A delegate, prejudiced against Stockholm, who had evidently omitted to study the news reported from Russia, and had failed to follow Henderson's own explanations, repeated the question: "Why didn't you read the telegram?" and thereby gave Henderson the opportunity to exclaim: "I would have given everything I possess to have read the telegram. Men don't do what I have done for selfish reasons." Roaring cheers almost drowned his words. He added: "If I had cared to follow the selfish game and accept the invitation to throw Labour over, my position in the eyes of the public would have been different to-day." But it is obvious that he has not lost, but tremendously gained in public esteem and confidence. Will he prove worthy of the trust? Henderson is a diplomatist, not a hero. He is a powerful force on whichever side he throws his influence.

At present his position is contradictory. He has left the Government: indeed, he has been thrown out of it; but he urges the Labour Party to remain attached to it.

He admits that the difficulty of remaining in the Government has been intensified by the refusal of the Government to grant passports to Stockholm to the official representatives of the Labour Party—a section of the Coalition. Passports were granted to British capitalists to an International Conference which met in the interests of Capital.

(Continued on Page 837.)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

FRENCH LABOUR GOES TO STOCKHOLM.

The French Confédération Générale du Travail—the organisation which roughly corresponds to the British Trade Union Congress—has decided to go to Stockholm. This, and the decision of the British Labour Party, will probably cause the American Labour Party to change its mind.

In choosing their delegates for the inter-Allied Socialist Conference the French Socialists have decided not to exclude the minority, as the British Labour Party Conference decided to in choosing delegates for Stockholm. The delegates selected by the French Socialist Committee for the Inter-Allied Conference on August 27th and 28th are:—

Majority: M. Albert Thomas, Minister of Munitions; M. Bracke, Deputy; M. Renaudel, Deputy; M. Edgar Milhaud, Professor at Geneva University.

Minority: MM. Jean Lon, Mistral, Pressemane, Verfeuil, and M. Loriot representing the Extreme Kienthal Pacifists.

We have the same division of Socialist and Labour opinion in this country.

* * * *

M. Tseretelli, a Socialist Member of the Russian Govern- in an interview with Arthur Ransome in the "Daily News" published August 20th, is reported as saying that the Russian Government has not changed its attitude towards the Stockholm Conference, adding: "I personally, as well as the whole Executive Committee, acclaim Mr. Henderson's action. We greet with the deepest satisfaction the decision of our comrades, the working men of England, to take part in that Conference."

CAPITALISTS CONFER.

Dear Editor,—We shall presently see more determined efforts by the capitalist leaders, and their press, to influence public opinion to prevent real representatives of the people from attending the Stockholm Conference. Our strongest weapon in counteracting this lies in the fact that Lord Newton and other Englishmen met German Government officials at the Hague, and in Lord Newton's report he says that "the discussions were full and frank," and a new agreement was arranged. Now, this admits the success of negotiation, and if it is possible for English capitalists to meet Germans of the same class, to discuss prisoners of War, surely it is more important that English workers should meet German workers to discuss and arrange an early proletarian peace. This point must be emphasised all over the country so that English workers are properly represented at Stockholm.—Yours faithfully, ALFRED WOOLFSTEIN.

WOMEN'S PEACE CRUSADE IN BELFAST.

Last week our activities took the form of a "from door to door leaflet distribution. We had numberless instances that the woman in the home has had enough of War. Here and there the sad story of news received that morning of the death of a loved one; here and there a wailing cry regarding the impossibility of bearing the economic strain of the cost of living any longer; here and there the shadow of some fine specimen of manhood maimed for life in the cruel butchery—the man bravely smiling, and his women folk with the sorrow and indignation of insulted wifehood and motherhood in their eyes and on their faces. And amidst it all we were conscious of the hundreds of little children amongst our feet—staring at us in their childish innocence. Dare we rest whilst these too may be the victims of War if a newer spirit of brotherhood and humanity is not born out of the present travail. Three open-air meetings were held. During the past fortnight three thousand leaflets have been distributed and dozens of papers sold. We are looking forward to a visit from Mrs. Anderson Fenn this week-end and anticipate good meetings.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS MEMORIAL.

The Peace Negotiations Memorial, "urging His Majesty's Government to seek the earliest opportunity of promoting negotiations with the object of securing a just and lasting peace," was signed by 221,617 persons and endorsed by organised Labour bodies representing more than 900,000 members.

THE NEGRO PROTEST.

The American nation has joined in this so-called War of Freedom; yet 500 negroes marched down Fifth Avenue, New York, on July 28th to protest against lynching, disfranchisement and injustice under which they suffer. First came little girls in white, and, walking amongst them, a boy with a sign: "Thou shalt not kill." Then women in white, preceded by a sign: "Colour, blood and suffering have made us one." Afterwards marched the men, and, at their head, an incription from the Declaration of American Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal." This was crossed out, and under it was a notice: "All of African descent, tear off this corner." Other signs were carried:—

"If fault is to be found with our colour blame God and yourselves."

"India is abolishing caste: America is adopting it."

"Taxation without representation is tyranny. (The Negro pays poll taxes down South, but is not allowed to vote.)"

"Repelled by the Unions, we are condemned as scabs."

"We are maligned as lazy and murdered when we work."

Race hatred, not merely of the peoples against which this or that nation is fighting in the War, but of all the peoples of other races, is being fanned by the reactionaries in all countries. The cry is either that the foreigner is fighting to rule us or is stealing our food or our work. In the bitter hatred the weaker peoples and the minorities are victimised; in one country it is the negro, in another the Jew or the Chinaman.

SWEATING THE CANTEEN STAFF.

Dear Editor,—Would you, through the medium of THE DREADNOUGHT, disclose the sweating conditions of the canteen staff at the London Small Arms, which I think are most unfair to the women in these abnormal times, and a very poor wage in normal times. The women work eleven hours per night for six nights, and the same on days. For this the cooks receive the splendid sum of 3s. per night or day. The washers-up receive 2s. 8d., no extra being paid for night work. I might say these women are not organised, having come straight from domestic service; professional cooks receive the same pay as the helpers. I might add that the *voluntary* helpers, who attend during the afternoon for one and a-half hours, receive 2s. They have interviewed the management, and the two agitators have been promised a rise of 2s. per week, which is 4d. per night for the six nights. I might say the canteen is supposed to be run without profit. These are all the facts I can give you at present.—Yours, etc.,

EQUAL PAY FOR MEN AND WOMEN.

The Board of Trade estimates that 1,256,000 women have taken the places of men in employment. What proportion of these women have received the same pay as men? The Board of Trade discreetly refrains from telling. Women should insist on being admitted to the men's unions and on being paid by the job, not according to sex.

THE WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY VOTE.

It appears that women who have taken examinations at Oxford and Cambridge, which refuse degrees to women, will not get the University vote which the present Government Bill offers to women of thirty years. We do not approve of the University vote, either for men or for women, so we are not much distressed by this knowledge. But we have often wondered why women go as students to Universities which insult them by refusing degrees to them, even though they may win a higher place in the examinations than any of the men.

ON THE RAILWAYS.

The railway men and women, boys and girls, are to receive the following War increases of wages, which are substituted for increases or bonuses already obtained:—Men: On time work, 15s. per week; on piece work, 8s. per week, 7s. per week on time rates, or 17½ per cent. increase of piece-work prices. Boys: 2s. per week to the War bonus now paid. Women: 2s. per week. Girls: 1s. a week. What about equal pay for men and women?

"THE DREADNOUGHT" AND W.S.F.

In reply to our Treasurer's appeal for financial aid, a correspondent from the Attercliffe Division of Sheffield writes:—"Here is four shillings from my husband and myself. Do not let the dear WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT go. I sell a few papers each week, but I will take more to sell from this week."—A Labourer's Wife.

WILL LABOUR FUNK THE ISSUE?

(Continued from Page 836.)

He admits that the policy of the Government is "a direct challenge to Labour." Yet he says that he would strenuously oppose the withdrawal of the remaining Labour Members from the Government, because to do so would be (1) subversive of the national interests; (2) prejudical to the successful prosecution of the War; (3) because "the Labour Party entered the Coalition with great ideals"; (4) because to leave the Government would "disrupt the Labour movement." He urged the Labour Party to be patient, to maintain its right as a great working-class organisation to be consulted in Peace and War, to pass again the resolution to participate in the Stockholm Conference, to take part in the Inter-Allied Conference, to ask again for passports, to play a waiting game.

Why is he working that British Labour should send delegates to the Stockholm Conference? He gave these as his reasons:—

"(1) The desire to assist the Allied cause by the supplementation of military effort by political propaganda, or an honest exchange of views between the countries;

"(2) To do all in my power to assist the Russian Government, and especially Kerensky, in their brave efforts to retrieve an appalling situation;

"(3) A desire to bring into closer union Russian and British democracy in this great and extreme crisis so that they can work together for the destruction of militarism everywhere and for the procuring of a lasting Peace;

"(4) Some such course as is contained in the Stockholm proposal will have to be followed. If the way of peace is not prepared by an exchange of views between the representatives of the great working-class democracies, then the Peace settlement will probably be reached by official, and, may I say, perhaps by secret official representatives. If this latter way is the way that Labour prefers, let it be clearly recognised that this would not mean, in our sense, a people's Peace."

The last sentence well sums up the issue. But the first reason and the last reason are conflicting. If the participation of British Labour in this Conference is intended "only to supplement military effort," as he says; if it is merely to wire-pull the German workers into accepting the "case" of the Allied Governments, then how can it be that only the working-class democracies of the world can prepare a people's Peace?

Which is merely diplomacy? Is it the first statement or the last? We hope devoutly that it is to the last and not the first of these statements that Mr. Henderson means to cling. His resignation tends to entitle him to the benefit of the doubt. But when he thinks of the delegates whom he means to meet and to influence at Stockholm, the delegates from the other countries whom he desires shall review the situation with impartial eyes: can he consider it wise to persist in repeating an announcement which is tantamount to saying: "I am going into this International Conference with the object of wire-pulling the delegates in the interests of my own country"?

With transports of joy and singing of the "Internationale," the Stockholm vote was carried. Though the majority was small, the decision was maintained, and for the moment that was all that mattered. Some delegates had voted with hesitation, for with all the pacifist enthusiasm which swept the Conference, many delegates awake from the old spell with difficulty. "Are you voting for Stockholm?" "Yes, I'm voting for it now, though I wish to God the referendum had been carried," an old man said. But those who had doubted were glad when they heard the figures; and one felt that the majority, even of the minority, were glad that the Stockholm proposal had won the day.

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E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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THE VIEW.

"Through my window embrasure, fast bricked and barred,
A visitor enters each day and tries hard
To brighten the hours. His gold wand he stretches,
And changes each brick with shimmering patches
Of gold dust. I kick off my shoes and mount my chair,
To peep at the country and drink of fresh air.
Two churches, a tower, laburnum's gold bloom,
Stretch of flat country I view from my room.
You dear two at home think mother in prison:
Her eyes travel miles when the red sun has risen;
Her ears catch the church bell, the school bell, and hour bell;
Her fancy can picture her loved ones well,
Nor distance, nor law, strict rules, nor brick wall
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Private J. W.

THE TRAIL OF THE WAR

TREATMENT OF A "C.O."

"I have just come from Mr. ———'s Court-martial. Privately, he told me that his treatment . . . is and has been very inhuman.

"Cell, 11 by 7 ft. 14 weeks' solitary confinement, 13 weeks' bread and water continuously, except for two or three changes ordered by the doctor.

"He will swear doctor said he knew he ought not to be in cell, but he should keep him there. . .

"I made inquiries if he was given so many days' bread and water, and then change of diet; he said *No*, only changed by orders of doctor three times.

"He has constantly been left twenty-four hours, and no sanitary arrangements; everything left in his room. It is a common trick to put uncleansed utensils in his cell. He has complained many times of his treatment.

"I think D—— is suffering much, especially from mental and nervous shock. . . . He says the doctor is against him."

Prior to arrest D—— was well known as a champion swimmer. He is the sole support of partially crippled mother and brother who has been discharged from the Army a nervous wreck.

To stop such ill-treatment, stop the War!

MORE FIELD PUNISHMENT NO. 1.
CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR TIED UP TO A POST WITHIN RANGE OF SHELL FIRE.

A Conscientious Objector has made the following statement at a hospital in Hammersmith :—

"I was arrested March 11th. At Putney I was told I should have 14 days to decide if I would join up. I was put in Wandsworth Police Station meantime and after 6 of the 14 days was taken back to Putney and put on the train for Folkestone with an escort and shipped to France. I was first taken to Albert. When I was ordered to work on the R.E. dump I refused, was court-martialled, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, hard labour. This was commuted to 90 days' Field Punishment No. 1, and I was sent to Bapaume to carry out the sentence. On the second day the C.O. said he had a paper from the War Office for me to sign. He would not let me read it, and I refused to sign it. I was tied up to a post for two hours on three days out of every four, nearly every time it was in range of shell fire, and on one occasion the guard was afraid to stay near me. I requested him to ask the C.O. if he thought this a manly action, which he did, but with no result. I have witnesses who gave me their regimental number and name, and said they would testify to the truth of this. When I had been here about two weeks and after the occasion mentioned above, the C.O. said he had got into trouble with the War Office about me, and he should send a paper for me to sign, saying I would not do anything appertaining to militarism, and was prepared to do the two years' hard labour. I signed it. After about 30 days at Bapaume I was informed that I would be sent back to England. I was taken to Albert and then to Boulogne, and placed in detention barracks there, then brought over to Folkestone, where they said my papers were lost, and I was sent back to Boulogne Field Punishment Detention Barracks again. I was placed in a fairly large room with a dozen or so of prisoners, mainly Canadians. The daily diet consisted of 6 ozs. bully beef, 3 biscuits and about a quart of tea without milk or sugar (13ozs. food altogether). The general treatment was not so good as at Bapaume, and hunger caused much suffering. In the morning we were so hungry that we usually ate the whole day's rations and in the afternoon it was a case of searching round dustbins for potato peelings, and such like scraps. The hunger was the worst of it. On the second day after returning to Boulogne, I was feeling very bad, and asked to see the doctor. He gave me two pills, which I thought made me worse. I reported next morning and was given one pill, the doctor saying that he did not want to see me any more. I was given half an hour's extra work that day for daring to ask for the doctor. On the 4th July I was placed on a boat at Boulogne without an escort, and told to report at the depot at Putney. I reported at Putney on the 5th and was informed that the depot had moved to Harrow Road. I reported there, but the sergeant had no instructions, nor had the C.O., and I was therefore given a pass until 8.45 p.m., 6/7/17. I reported in due course, went before the doctor, and was immediately placed in hospital at Hammersmith. I was treated in a very friendly manner by the soldiers generally, many of them showing the great kindness, and several expressed the wish that they had been C.O.s themselves. This is a true statement of my case.—(Signed) WILLIAM GEORGE TYRRELL.

A MATTER FOR REFLECTION.

In the February number of the "Contemporary Review" for 1903 an article signed "Galchas" appeared, dealing with Boers and British. The following is an extract :—

"But because the Boer's original misfortune had thrown him against us, and because it was best for all concerned in South Africa that an independence which could not develop without fatal consequences to ourselves should be extinguished, we thought it needful for a time to represent the Boer as a bad man. We had to fight him; therefore, we were compelled to begin by abusing him. This is what all nations are apt to do towards their opponents, and they are all afterwards rather ashamed of it."

The moral should be brought up to date. How foul a thing is Imperialism!

A. MARRIOTT.

BRITISH ALIENS.

Dear Editor,—I am an alien (English wife of an interned German) also a constant reader of your paper, the DREADNOUGHT. Now we English girls are in trouble again, and our husbands have great confidence that you will have a good try to remedy it for us, now they want to remove our men from Alexandra Palace back to the Isle of Man; that means we can never see them (and that is our only bit of comfort we have). I, for one out of thousands, have been through that before, for 14 months, and then I had to send 30s. for his fare to get him to London, and our men say they would rather cut their throats than go back to that hell again. They say if we knew what they went through at the Isle of Man (eating cats and dogs) our hair would stand on end. Talk about German brutality; they want to look round the English camps, what with rotten herrings, bad beef, paraffin rice, and rain coming in on their beds, they have enough to go through, and we English wives, if we are lucky enough to find employment, get hounded down by relieving officers, to see what we earn, because you know we are Germans, and ought not to be alive on this earth, let alone earn money to live and lead a straight life. We never made this war, neither are we carrying it on, but our children are made to suffer. Yet England claims them to fight their own fathers' relations. We do not want charity, but we want our husbands (whom God joined together let no man put asunder); another scrap of paper violated. Why don't they send us with our husbands, back to Germany, we are all willing to go, for we know by the way our husbands treated our children and we wives, that we would be well treated and looked after by the German people; also we should not be parted as I have been for 25 months. This is all now, with three cheers and the best of luck to the DREADNOUGHT, trusting you will be able to do something for us poor outcast German women.—Yours, A BRITISH ALIEN.

FEDERATION NOTES

PEACE PICKETS.

Although we have had several extra pickets this week, all of them have been very well supported. Our new banner—"Negotiate for Peace on the Russian terms: No annexations, no indemnities"—attracted a good deal of attention. A soldier told a member who was carrying the "War is Murder" banner that we should have "and Hell" added to it. A clergyman told another that she should be ashamed of herself. "I think the boot is on the other foot," she said simply. "I read in my Bible "Thou shalt not kill'; what do you read there?" He made no answer, but went away. Sympathy seems to be growing, although some men who work in an East End munition factory, and who disturb our meetings, have opposed us. The last picket was at the Central Hall on Tuesday, the 21st, when the adjourned Labour Conference was held.

BIG PUSH.

On Saturday, August 18th, we had a very good meeting in the Harrow Road. One man who was very much worried about the Kaiser's position if we had Peace now, met with so little sympathy that he went away before his questions could be answered.

In the evening in Hyde Park, while Miss Pankhurst was speaking, some munition workers tried to get soldiers to rush the platform. The soldiers did not seem nearly so friendly to the disturbers as to us. After ex-Inspector Syme had spoken for some time there was a scrimmage. Stewart Grey, who tried to keep order, was arrested and fined 40s., and three young men who threw stones were also charged. One was fined 10s., the other two were bound over. DREADNOUGHTS were sold for 6d. and 1s. each.

On Saturday, August 25th, we shall be at Kensal Rise. Helpers are asked to meet at Mrs. Ellis', 10 Milman Road.

FEDERATION OUTING.

The Hampstead I.L.P. have kindly invited our members to an outing at the Hampstead Garden Suburb on Sunday, September 23rd. Tickets, 1s. 6d., including tea. Children, 9d.

JUNIOR BRANCH W.S.F.

The children who come to 400 Old Ford Road on Friday evenings to learn dancing and sing Socialist songs have decided that they wish to be Suffragettes and Socialists now, without waiting to grow up. They have formed themselves into the Junior Branch of the W.S.F., and as soon as holidays are over will start rehearsing a fairy play in order to raise money for the funds. The Bow Club members are choosing one of Evelyn Sharp's charming plays for the same purpose.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

The Hartlepools Labour League has recently affiliated to the League, and has formed a flourishing League of Rights Branch. Hyde and Denton District Trades and Labour Council, Penarth Trades and Labour Council and the Thorner, Shipley, Shavington, Leeds No. 4, Bournemouth and Ilford Branches of the N.U.R. have also affiliated.

The Walthamstow Branch of the League is circulating the following petition in its district :—

"We, the undersigned, wives, widows and dependants of soldiers and sailors, maintain that the separation allowances and pensions at present granted are seriously inadequate owing to the increase in the cost of living, and therefore urge that these shall be raised in accordance with the increase in the cost of living which has taken place since the outbreak of War."

The women flock round like bees to sign the petition. The children whose mothers have been obliged to become wage-earners in order to supplement their pensions or allowances, beg to be allowed to sign the petition in "Mother's" stead. Other districts should follow the lead given by the Walthamstow League and its energetic secretary, Mrs. Sizer, 49 Melbourne Road, herself a soldier's widow.

OUR FRIENDLY GUESTS

THE INTERNMENT HABIT.

The "more men and yet more men" school is determined to force into the British Army all the friendly aliens who fled here from the militarism of Russia in the days of the Czardom. The Convention entered into by the British and Russian Governments gives Russian subjects the choice of returning to Russia or enlisting in the British Army, but the Government is forcing the hand of the Russians, Lithuanian, other Russian subjects and Roumanians by announcing that if the men elect to go to Russia their families must be left behind without separation allowances. Even if the friendly aliens join the British Army the families must remain without separation allowances for a period of three months, a harsh provision, calculated to increase the determination of the men, who have made up their minds not to become British soldiers.

The Russian subjects feel bitterly the cruel position in which they are placed. They have held great meetings to voice their protest, and pleading for better treatment. In reply the Government intern their leaders. On Aug. 27th Mr. Abraham Bezalel, secretary of the Foreign Jews' Protection Committee, was suddenly interned. Now Mr. Tchitcherine, secretary of the Russian Socialist Groups in London, has been informed that he also is to be shut away without trial; a little warning is given in his case, but the same fate awaits him.

Recently a deputation from the Lithuanian organisations in Glasgow came to London to plead the cause of its people. The simple workmen returned to Glasgow without achieving anything, a business man who had volunteered to take them round having charged them £15 for his services.

Now, two of the Lithuanian women are come from Glasgow—Miss Stefanie P. Sarafin, of the Lithuanian Women Workers' Association, and Mrs. Lebedis, of the Lithuanian Charity Organisation. These delegates represent 4,000 women in Glasgow, and the English Committee of Lithuanian Women has also given them its mandate to speak for them. These women delegates are fired with energy and determination. They insist on behalf of their countrywomen that if their husbands and sons return to Russia, and that if their husbands and sons elect to enlist in the British Army, they shall receive the same treatment as that accorded to the wives and families the British soldiers.

These women will certainly need all their courage and determination. After a long wait at the Prime Minister's, they were referred to the Foreign Office. They wrote to say they would call at the Foreign Office next day, but on arriving were told that nothing was known of their letter. Next day Lord Robert Cecil wrote referring them to the War Office. So it goes. Our men pour out their blood on the battlefields abroad, and we are told that this is done for the sake of small nationalities; yet at home the representatives of the small nationalities fail to secure a hearing.

LEEDS W.S.F.

The delegates from the Sheffield W.S.F. to the Leeds Workers' and Soldiers' Conference are Mr. B. Harrison and Mr. H. Carpenter.

WANTED, at once, **LADY-HELP,** where Cook and Gardener kept; good salary.—Apply "Woodthorpe," Stonebridge Park, N.W.10.

ELECTRIC MACHINE BAKERY
91 BURDETT ROAD, MILE END
W. WOODS & SONS. *Family Bakers*

SOLDIERS' WIVES ASK THAT STOCKHOLM PASSPORTS BE GRANTED.

Dear Editor,—At a special meeting of the Walthamstow Branch of the League of Rights the following resolution was carried unanimously :—

"The Walthamstow Branch of the League of Rights, consisting of wives and mothers of the fighting men in France and elsewhere, strongly protests against the Government action in withholding passports to the delegates to the Stockholm Conference. As sufferers through the War and as dependants of those who are undergoing the torture at the different fronts, we demand that passports shall be granted so that the workers of the belligerent countries may begin to talk about Peace. The bloodshed has gone on too far, our aims can be attained by a Conference."

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d —Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

SOUTHEND: Apartments or Bed-Sitting Room, near bandstand, pier.—C., 1 Grange Gardens, Southend.

SOUTHEND: Furnished Apartments, 8 minutes from sea and train; a Furnished House conveniently situated.—Apply "400" this Office.

TO LET—HALL for meetings, etc., holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85, Hoxton Street, N.

TYPEWRITING REQUIRED at home; M.S.S. and Plays; Duplicating accurately done. Terms on application.—Apply Miss A. O. Beamish, 85 Hoxton Street.

BEDROOM, use of Sitting-room; convenience for cooking; very pretty country; close sea.—Care of Newton, Tankerton, Kent.

MONDA SOCIALISMO.
Free Food, Law Love, Temple Truth, Sovran Self.
Songs and Recitals by ALEXANDER HUNTER, 37 Collingwood Road, Coventry.—"Fine Voice." "Powerful Reciter."

Charge for advertising in this column, 1d. per word; four insertions for the price of three.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

August 14th.—Referring to the grant of passports to the United States to the members for the Scotland Division and North Galway, Mr. King (L.) asked whether it depends on the persons who ask for passports whether they are granted. Lord R. Cecil answered: "Of course, there are some people to whom we should not think of granting passports"!! Favouritism again!

MORE PAID OFFICIALS.

The six Food Commissioners appointed by the Food Controller for London are paid salaries from £600 to £800 a year. Mr. Clynes stated that arrangements are being made to provide each Commissioner with an office and staff. All this means increased expenditure, whilst the public wants less of this kind.

"NATIVE" RACES.

During the Debate on the Colonial Office Vote there was much talk of "native races" and their welfare. Mr. Wilson Fox grotesquely advocated helping them to give up their agricultural pursuits and thus to seek the "greater wealth which will come to them as labourers." He must be fully aware that the "greater wealth" is that of the company for which the "native" works. Mr. Long, in introducing the Vote, paid tribute to the service of the Colonies in the present War, and reaffirmed the intention of the Government to retain the German Colonies "for the security of the British Empire." Mr. Mason (L.) rightfully pointed out that the determination to retain the German Colonies only made the possibility of Peace more remote. The decision of the Imperial War Conference to give Imperial Preference in trade, which Mr. Long quoted, gave Tariff Reformers an opportunity of expressing their entire satisfaction.

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The case of Mr. Barker, who has been so successful in manipulative surgery, was ably pleaded by Mr. Pringle (L.) on the Army Medical Vote. Mr. Macpherson, for the War Office, went so far as to say that, although unqualified men could not be advocated, the Army Council would probably raise no objection to a private soldier consulting an unqualified practitioner. How kind!

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The War Loan Bill and the Workmen's Compensation Bill were read a third time and passed.

MUNITIONS OF WAR BILL.

Mr. Churchill moved that the Munitions of War Bill be recommitted, and announced that the dilution Clause would be withdrawn. Do the workers still doubt that they have power to move the Government? Surely this victory should prove that where a firm stand is made success is assured.

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August 15th.—Lord Hugh Cecil (U.) pointed out that a firm called Mitchelson and Company has issued circulars on which Lord Rhondda's name appeared as a member of the firm. Certain investments were recommended as "very profitable." No information was given. Is this how Lord Rhondda stands out against profiteering?

PEACE PICKETS.

The W. S. F. peace parades seem to disturb Major Hunt (U.) who wishes the Defence of the Realm Act to be put into force against these "attempts to bring about an inconclusive peace." Sir G. Cave admitted that he knew all about the peace propaganda, and said that the police would take action when a breach of D.O.R.A. occurs. We are moving at last, peace propaganda is no longer a crime, if we work harder we shall obtain what we want.

VOTING BY PROXY.

The position of absent voters, which include mostly soldiers and sailors, was discussed at some length. Sir G. Cave argued that the only way to make the proposals of the Speaker's Conference of giving votes to soldiers effective was to introduce the proxy system. Voting by post would occasion too much delay, and give the post a great deal of work, besides troubling the men at the front with the business of election. The general attitude of the House was if voting by proxy is the alternative to not voting, then let us have it; but no great enthusiasm was shown. The debate was inconclusive, and the Home Secretary, acting on the suggestion of Sir John Simon (L.) postponed the further consideration of this clause until after the Recess. Proxy voting is not absolutely necessary for such distant countries as Salonika and Mesopotamia; Mr. Dickinson and Sir John Simon and others are strongly in favour of the postal system for the near theatre of War. We do not see why it cannot be put into practice. The votes of the Australian soldiers were taken both at the front and in London. Should the post be too unreliable the names of the candidates might be wired to polling booths at the various fronts—then the men could post back their choice of candidate, or polling could take place at the base and its results be wired.

MUNITIONS OF WAR BILL.
LEAVING CERTIFICATES ABOLISHED!

Clause 1 of the Munitions of War Bill, which empowered dilution on private work, has now been deleted. Further, the leaving certificate is to be abolished. But Mr. Churchill said that another step has to be taken before the obnoxious certificate is done away with. That is, that skilled workers on time are to have such wages fixed as will place them more on a level with the piece workers, and thus remove any temptation to take on less skilled work because more money can be earned. The new Clause making it illegal for employers to discharge a workman because of joining a trade union strikes one as amusing; but since such employers exist, it is a good thing that workers are not to be prevented from organising.

NO WOMEN WANTED.

Sir Gordon Hewart explained to Major Hills (U.) that the Solicitors' (Qualification of Women) Bill was a Private Member's Bill which the Government could not take up for the present. In spite of the shortage of solicitors, the Government does not require women to help, although, as Major Hills pointed out, the same difficulty was made about allowing women to become doctors, and "where should we have been in the War without women doctors?"

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August 16th.—In case of an armistice or any emergency during the recess, Mr. Bonar Law stated that Parliament would be re-assembled.

WOMEN BRICKLAYERS.

Mr. Beckett (U.) complained that the South Metropolitan Gas Company employs women bricklayers, and he thinks there are men available for the work. We hope they are getting a man's pay.

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The approximate number of Russians over 18 in the Metropolitan Police district is 31,000 Sir George Cave stated; in the rest of England and Wales 14,000.

THE MOTOR TRACTOR FARCE.

The Motion for the Adjournment of the House until October 16th was put, and in spite of Mr. Snowden's motion that the House should adjourn only until September 11th, it was carried Mr. Lambert (L.) amused the House with a description of how the motor tractors work. He mentioned that in one district in Devon he found five tractors and five ploughs. Any number of officials was provided, including one supervisor at five guineas per week and expenses, a machinery officer at five guineas per week and expenses, a mechanic at four guineas per week and expenses, a clerk at two guineas per week and expenses, and nine men at £2 per week with separation allowances. They had ploughed 25 acres in a week, less than one acre each per day. The land was no good for anything, yet the average cost per acre for ploughing was £5!! This is how public money is wasted.

PRIME MINISTER'S OPTIMISM.

Mr. Lloyd George, in a long speech, said nothing bearing on the great thought in everyone's mind: Peace. He chatted about food and all that was being done to increase the supply, including the wonderful work of the motor tractors. The submarine menace was being coped with, though there is still a deficiency of ships. The military situation makes him feel that he "would not exchange our military position with that of the enemy to-day."

THAT TELEGRAM.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (Lab.) said that Labour had decided not merely to produce munitions and soldiers; "but to have something to say in the diplomacy which is going to end the War." He told the House that the telegram from which Mr. Lloyd George quoted would be discovered, so that it would have been better if the Government had not tried to mislead the people.

UNIONIST INSOLENCE.

Lord Hugh Cecil (U.) stepped beyond the bounds of common decency when he denounced Labour as "utterly unfit, mentally and by training, to deal with the questions which would come up for discussion, and the chances are that they would do something very foolish. I would as soon send a child of three up in control of an aeroplane as agree to the Labour Party sending delegates to Stockholm." Do we want further proof of how peers look upon Labour? When there is dirty work to be done, Labour can do it, in spite of being as helpless as "a child of three"; but when the regulations of the conditions under which the people live are at stake, Labour has to stand aside and put up with what the Lords of the realm ordain! It is high time for the people to see to it that that sort of autocracy came to an end.

THE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE!

August 17th.—One of the most satisfactory speeches on the adjournment was that of Major Hunt (U.) He made a plea for the establishment of the returned soldier on the land. "Those who have saved the Empire ought surely to be given a bit of it—if they want it!—The land here has been too much in the hands of rich people." Words like these savour of Socialism, and when Major Hunt speaks in this strain one may wonder. He said he hoped that when the soldiers return that they would "insist" on justice being done to themselves.

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August 20th.—Sir A. Stanley pleaded ignorance of the fact that there is a grave shortage of matches. Another Member of the "Business Government"!

HOME RULE FOR INDIA.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, gave the House to understand that India may hope for better Government. At the Viceroy's invitation, Mr. Montagu is to visit India this winter. Further, Indian citizens are to be eligible for commissions in the British Army.

PEACE PETITION.

Replying to Mr. Ponsonby (L.), Mr. Bonar Law acknowledged having received a Peace Memorial signed by 221,617 persons.

RAILWAY STRIKE.

Sir A. Stanley, in reference to the threatened strike of the Locomotive Firemen, said such a strike would have a serious effect on the War. In that case it looks as though the Government ought accede to their moderate demands. Men who are overworked are irritable, and we understand that there are engine-drivers working 14 hours a day.

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Mr. Millar (L.) stated that a Clydebank plebiscite taken on August 14th resulted in 8,207 votes being cast in favour of the prohibition of the sale of all intoxicating liquors during the War and the period of demobilisation; only 1,861 being cast against.

CORN PRODUCTION BILL.

The Corn Bill came back from the House of Lords with three amendments: The Agricultural Wages Board shall appoint district wages committees instead of a Central Board. As this might give a chance of the minimum rate being overlooked, Mr. Prothero asked the House to disagree with it, which it did. Another was to try to procure special rates for men not termed "able-bodied," which was also negatived. A Clause advocating appeal against decisions as to inadequate cultivation, received the assent of the Commons. This Bill, with all its complicated Clauses, is meant to apply to districts where the inhabitants may be illiterate, so that much injustice is sure to ensue, not to mention the objectionable interference of officials.

A MOTHER'S STORY.

"Pardon me for writing to you, but I am in such pain that I don't know what I am doing. Well, to begin with, my husband went away 6th of August, and my baby was born the 13th of August. That is three years ago, and, having six children, I got about too soon, and had to take to my bed for eight weeks, and I have had my leg bad ever since. I have been in bed four weeks, three weeks, and two weeks, but the doctor said that if I don't rest till it is quite well I shall be an invalid all my life—think, me, only thirty-eight years old, not being able to look after my little ones. You know I make everything they wear, and knit their socks and vests; I am not a lazy woman. I thought if you could get me away, so as I could sit down and rest my leg, I would get better and be a help to everybody, for I am only in the way like I am, a misery to myself and my husband, for he has been home for a year now. If it was not for him I think I should go mad. I do want to get better, so God help you to send me away. Do your best, and show this to anybody you like, for I am sure they would help me, for I don't want a doctor, only rest, for I can get the doctor to tell you; oh, do your very best for me, so that I can get better.—A VERY MISERABLE MOTHER."

FOREIGN NEWS

"Journal du Peuple," August 18th.—"The French Socialist Deputy, Jean Longuet, has sent the following telegram to Mr. Arthur Henderson: 'Cordial congratulations. All French Socialists admire your loyal and courageous attitude.'"

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"Journal du Peuple," August 18th.—"It is announced that the German Government will grant passports for Stockholm only on condition that the responsibility for the War will not be discussed at the Congress."

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"Journal du Peuple," August 15th.—"The Swedish Government has refused the hall in Stockholm to the organisers of the Socialist Conference."

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The correspondent of the "Handelsblad" reports that the considerable expenses of the Stockholm Conference are met by several Socialists of neutral countries who possess large fortunes. Each of them has subscribed 10,000 florins to the funds. The Soviet has declared that it desires to contribute 50 per cent. of the expenses.

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"Journal du Peuple," August 15th.—"The Provisional Government is discussing the Finnish question. The strikers have resumed work. Ukrainian delegates have arrived in Petrograd to a conference with the Provisional Government. Official circles declare that their demands are much more moderate, and that they no longer dictate conditions to the Russian Government."

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"Journal du Peuple, August 15th.—"It is announced that Liebknecht has resumed his work in prison after a long illness in the prison hospital."

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"Berner Tagwacht," August 9th.— "Scheidemann, the German Socialist Deputy (Majority), declared at a meeting that the new Government of the Chancellor should disappear as soon as possible to preserve the interests of the nations and of Peace. A new Government is wanted which represents the will of the people."

"Berner Tagwacht," August 8th.—"The official paper of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, 'Isvestia,' says: 'The working class in Russia have not made the Revolution in order to remain a dumb herd led as the French or Russian Governments please. We repudiate all plans of conquest. The Stockholm Conference must become a turning point in the history of Socialism. Either is a common struggle for Peace possible, or the particular countries must be free to find salvation from the world war independently. The English and French comrades have not taken a decided attitude in this struggle. We declare that revolutionary democracy in Russia, which has decided for universal Peace, will not agree to the present position. At the eve of the fourth year of war the claim for Peace must resound stronger than ever. It is time to bring the Peace message to the people. It is time to end the sanguinary folly. Those who do not understand this can have nothing in common with the Russian Revolution.'"

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"Berner Tagwacht," August 8th.—"Kerensky demands the revision of War aims. According to a Stockholm telegram, an Entente Conference is to be held in London at the end of August in order to revise War aims. Kerensky wishes the declaration of War aims without annexations and indemnities at this Conference."

PEACE MOVEMENT IN CANADA.

Miss Florence Humphreys, president of the Women's International League of Peace, writes:

"We are doing what little we can to stem the tide of hate and forward the cause of Peace, but, as you can guess, it is uphill work. Your splendid little paper is greatly appreciated by a few Socialist men and women. I am glad to tell you that, in spite of the fewness of our numbers, we are growing, and we are looking forward to a busy winter season. I hope to be able to get some subscribers when we start our regular meetings again. I must tell you that it was your articles on the terrors and miseries inflicted by this fearful War that gave us the courage to start our League."

THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

On July 12th, the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee received delegations from the follwing groups:—

(1) The Egyptian Nationalist Party.
(2) The Persian Democratic Party.
(3) The joint revolutionary parties of India.
(4) Turkish Labour organisations.
(5) Flemish groups from Belgium.

Mohamed Farid Bey, leader of the Egyptian Nationalist Party is himself in Stockholm and is to represent Egypt at the Conference. His appeal to the conference, containing a scathing criticism of England's dealings with Egypt and her present attitude was published in "Stockholms Dagblad" on July 25th.

A few days previously the case of Persia was similarly laid before the Scandinavian public by Seyed Hassan Tayisadeir, the well-known Persian patriot who is also in Stockholm.

It is interesting that the Flemish delegation are strong advocates of an immediate peace without annexations or indemnities, and with the burden of the restoration of Belgium to be shared by all the belligerents.

The British Government has refused passports to Stockholm for Irish delegates for fear, no doubt, of their disclosing the true position of Ireland. This precaution is of no avail, however, for there is no book more widely read in Sweden at present than a recently translated book by Chatterton Hall in which the author depicts the sufferings of Ireland and the crimes of England ever since the days of Elizabeth in almost too lurid colours. The Government's refusal to grant passports makes it all the easier for the statements in this book to be accepted as facts.

One would think it would be to England's interest to afford facilities for delegates from all her dominions to attend the conference rather than to leave the field free for such members of her subject nationalities as are living in exile.

W.S.F. OUTING

Outing to Hampstead Garden Suburb, Sunday, September 23rd. Meet Abercorn Rooms, Liverpool Street Station, at 11 a.m. Tickets (including tea and fare from Liverpool Street) 1s. 6d. each; children 9d.

THE
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To secure a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People on the basis of a Socialist Commonwealth.

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Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Edgar Lansbury.
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Meetings, to Mrs. Bouvier.
W.S.F. Branches, Miss P. Lynch.
"Dreadnought," Miss O'Callaghan.
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The W.S.F. appeals for members and workers and invites friends to visit its offices and social institutions.

CENTRAL OFFICE: 400 Old Ford Road, London, **E.3**

THE MOTHERS' ARMS: 438 Old Ford Road, E.3 Mother and Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays 2.30 p.m. Infant Clinic and Day Nursery, 8 a.m. to 7 p.m.

MONTESSORI SCHOOL: 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. (by appointment with Miss Muriel Matters) at the Mothers' Arms.

THE WOMEN'S HALL: 20 Railway Street (opposite South Bromley Station on the North London Railway) Mother and Infant Clinic, Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays and Thursdays at 2.30 p.m. Cost Price Restaurant, &c.

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COST PRICE RESTAURANT: 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3, and 20 Railway Street, Poplar.

ST. STEPHEN'S SHOP: 85 Hoxton Street, off Old Street, off Shoreditch. Literature on Communism, Feminism, Internationalism, Socialism.

CO-OPERATIVE TOY INDUSTRY: By appointment with Miss Norah Smyth.

THE WORKERS' CHOIR: Applications for Membership to Mrs. Hercbergova, 45 Norman Road, E.

SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL: 20 Railway Street, Poplar. Sunday Afternoons, 3 p.m.

OUR FUNDS

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Edgar Lansbury, or to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3
All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

GENERAL FUND.—Mrs. Glassman (1s. weekly), £1 4s.; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly), £1; Miss H. E. Raisin (monthly)), 5s.; Dr. Scarlett Synge, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Goodman, 1s. COLLECTIONS: Proceeds of Social Nottingham Branch W.S.F., 19s. 2½d.; Osborn Street, 5s. 1¾d.; Miss Lynch, 3s.; Mrs. Bouvier, 1s. 4½d.

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Mrs. Gibson: large tins of Baby Food, large tin of Rusks. Clothes: Anon; Clothes: Anon; Clothes: Anon; Shoes: Anon; Mrs. White: suits for Montessori children.

WHAT'S ON?
W.S.F. FIXTURES
OUTDOOR

SATURDAY, AUGUST 25th.
Meetings 3 p.m. and 7 p.m. See "Great Push."
SUNDAY, AUGUST 26th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.30 a.m., Mr. J. H. Humphreys (Sec., P.R.).
Victoria Park, 4 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Ex-Inspector Syme
Hyde Park, 6 p.m., Mrs. Butler.
The Square, Woolwich, 7 p.m., Mrs. Drake.
THURSDAY, AUGUST 30th.
Cannon Street Road, Commercial Road, 7.30 p.m., Ex-Inspector Syme.
FRIDAY, AUGUST 31st.
Highbury Corner, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Drake.
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st.
Meetings at 3 p.m. and 7 p.m. See "Great Push."

INDOOR

MONDAY, AUGUST 27th.
53 St. Leonard's Street, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Sizer.
TUESDAY, AUGUST 28th.
I.W.W. Hall, 76 Whitechapel Road, 8 p.m., Mrs. Drake.
THURSDAY, AUGUST 30th.
St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, 8.30 p.m., Mr. S. V. Bracher, "Peace."

SPECIAL NOTICES.

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST IN WALES.
Sunday, August 26th, Tonyrefail and Rhondda. Monday, August 27th, Soar Chapel, Pontyglwaith. Tuesday, August 28th, Coedcae, Nantyglo, Monmouthshire.

HOXTON JUMBLE SALE.
Contributions still urgently needed for Jumble Sale. Please send parcels to Hon. Sec., 85 Hoxton Street, N.1. Gratefully acknowledged from Mrs. Bertioli and Miss Greer.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

Friends of Ex-Inspector Syme will give a reception at Holborn Hall on September 1st from 6.30 to 11.30. The programme will include dancing, songs, and speeches. The speakers will be Mrs. Despard, Miss E. Sylvia Pankhurst, D. Carmichael (London Trades Council), John Syme and George Lansbury. It is hoped that all Trade Unionists will support this function, not only by attending, but by giving financial support. No charge is made for tickets, which can be obtained from J. Adams, 3 Park Hill, Clapham, S.W.4, but a collection will be taken on the evening to cover the cost of the reception, and we rely on comrades to help in this way.

JOIN OUR GREAT PUSH FOR THE
PEOPLE'S CHARTER!

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PEACE! SOCIALISM! VOTES FOR ALL!

Stop the hideous slaughter by ending the War! Down with Profiteering! Secure Food and Necessaries for all! Not Votes for some but Adult Suffrage! Down with the House of Lords!

Summer Campaign for Education!

Meetings! Literature Distribution! Individual Talks with Everyone!

SATURDAY, AUGUST 25th, KENSAL RISE—(Joint with Peace Crusaders). Meet: 10 MILMAN ROAD, West Kilburn, 2.45 p.m.
Secretary for the day: Mrs. EDWARDS, 30 Clifford Gardens, Kensal Rise, N.W.
1st Meeting: MANOR PARK ROAD, 3 p.m. Mrs. BUTLER, Miss LYNCH.
2nd Meeting: ILBERT STREET, KILBURN LANE, 7 p.m. Mrs. CRESSALL, Mr. H. G. RUSSELL, Ex-Inspector SYME, Mrs. NELLIE BEST.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st, ISLINGTON—(Joint with Peace Crusaders). Meet: 255 LIVERPOOL ROAD, 2.45 p.m.
Secretary for the day: Miss ISAACS, 255 Liverpool Road, N.1
1st Meeting: HIGHBURY CORNER 3 p.m. Miss LYNCH, Ex-Inspector SYME, Miss O'CALLAGHAN.
2nd Meeting: HIGHBURY CORNER 7 p.m. Mrs. NELLIE BEST, Miss LYNCH, Rev. R. W. SORENSEN.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9th, POPLAR—Meet: 20 RAILWAY STREET, 2.45 p.m. (bus 15 or 25 from Bank to Chrisp Street).
Secretary for the day: Miss LAGSDING.
1st Meeting: PIGGOTT STREET 3 p.m. Mrs. BUTLER, Miss LYNCH, Mr. J. HANAGHAN and Mr. H. G. RUSSELL.
2nd Meeting: DOCK GATES 7 p.m. Mrs. BUTLER, Miss LYNCH, Mr. J. HANHGHAN and Ex-Inspector SYME.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15th, CAMBERWELL—(Joint with Peace Crusaders). Meet: 85 CAMBERWELL GROVE, S.E, 2.45 p.m.
1st Meeting: CAMBERWELL GREEN 3 p.m. Miss LYNCH and Mrs. NELLIE BEST.
2nd Meeting: CAMBERWELL GREEN 7 p.m. Miss LYNCH, Mr. H. G. RUSSELL and Rev. R. W. SORENSEN.

PEACE DEMONSTRATION

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 14th.

Secretary: Mrs. FINEBERG

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